

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR, NG

SUBJ: PARM ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT-NIGER

PART I

REF: CERP 0001

U.S. INTERESTS

1. THE PRIMARY INTEREST BEHIND U.S. POLICIES AND PROGRAMS HERE IS NOT SPECIFIC TO NIGER; IT IS THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO A STABLE WORLD ORDER IN WHICH THE DESPERATELY DISADVANTAGED NATIONS OF AFRICA, AMONG OTHERS, SEE PRACTICAL BENEFITS AND ARE INCLINED TO CONSTRUCTIVE PARTICIPATION. IN THIS CONTEXT THE U.S. HAS AN INTEREST IN QUOTE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNQUOTE AS SUCH AND IN LINE WITH THIS INTEREST, FOLLOWING ON THE LARGE RELIEF EFFORT WE MOUNTED IN THE SAHEL DURING THE RECENT DROUGHT, WE HAVE PLANS TO PUT UPWARDS OF \$55 MILLION IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE INTO NIGER IN THE NEXT THREE YEARS.

2. OUR CONVENTIONAL DIPLOMATIC INTERESTS IN NIGER REMAIN SMALL. U.S. COMPANIES, HOWEVER, ARE TAKING A PROGRESSIVELY LARGER STAKE IN URANIUM DEVELOPMENT. THERE IS SOME HOPE, BUT SO FAR ONLY THAT, THAT U.S. COMPANIES MAY
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DISCOVER OIL. NIGER'S VOTES IN INTERNATIONAL FORA ARE, NATURALLY, OF CONCERN TO US AND WE WILL WISH TO MAINTAIN BILATERAL RELATIONS SUFFICIENTLY CORDIAL TO GET A FAIR HEARING ON ISSUES WE CONSIDER IMPORTANT. FNIALLY, THE U.S. HAS A GENERAL POLITICAL INTEREST IN FOSTERING RELATIONS WITH AND ENCOURAGING AFRICAN REGIMES WHICH ARE MODERATE, ORIENTED TOWARD THE INTERESTS OF THEIR PEOPLE,

AND BASICALLY HUMANE, SUCH IS THE CASE OF NIGER.

OVERVIEW

3. THE GOVERNMENT OF LT. COL. SENYI KOUNTCHE IS EMERGING AS ONE OF AFRICA'S MOST SERIOUS, STABLE, AND HARDWORKING REGIMES. IT IS A MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO THE BONE WHICH ALLOWS NO POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND IS WITHOUT DISCERNIBLE PLANS FOR RETURNING THE COUNTRY TO CIVILIAN RULE. IF AUSTERE AND SOMETIMES AUTHORITARIAN IN STYLE, KOUNTCHE HAS A STRONG INNATE BIAS AGAINST IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL GIMMICKRY OF ANY KIND--AFRICAN, MARXIST, OR WHATEVER. BY BACKGROUND, INSTINCT AND EXPERIENCE, HE AND ALL OF HIS CLOSE COLLEAGUES ARE STRONGLY PREDISPOSED TO COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE. IN THE THREE YEARS THEY HAVE HELD POWER WE HAVE DEVELOPED GOOD ACCESS TO AND RELATIONS WITH THEM.

4. THE LEADERSHIP'S ONE OVER-RIDING OBJECTIVE IS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVED LIFE AT THE GRASS ROOTS UNDER CONDITIONS OF FULL RESPECT FOR NIGER'S AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE. FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ARE SEEN AS PLAYING KEY ROLES IN THE COUNTRY'S DEVELOPMENT AND ARE WELCOMED ON THIS BASIS. THE GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITIES FIT CLOSELY WITH U.S. OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA AND WE SHOULD HAVE LITTLE TROUBLE MAINTAINING OUR CORDIAL AND PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH NIGER AS THINGS CURRENTLY STAND.

5. THE PROSPECTS FOR KOUNTCHE STAYING IN POWER SEEM GOOD, ALTHOUGH HIS TENURE REMAINS SUBJECT TO ALL THE CAVEATS AND UNCERTAINTIES
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WHICH PERTAIN IN POOR AND WEAK AFRICAN STATES WHERE INSTITUTIONS ARE FEEBLE, WHERE POWER IS SPREAD THIN, AND WHERE REGIMES LACK BALLAST. WHILE THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN THIS SOCIETY SUSPICIOUS OF OUTSIDERS AND EUROPEANS, A PLAUSIBLE SUCCESSOR REGIME TO KOUNTCHE'S WOULD MOST PROBABLY BE ANOTHER COMBINATION OF SOLDIERS AND CIVILIAN TECHNICIANS WITH MUCH THE SAME SET OF ATTITUDES AS THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP TOWARD COOPERATION WITH THE U.S., FRANCE AND OTHER MAJOR DONORS. FACES COULD CHANGE, BUT WE DO NOT EXPECT THE MILITARY, IN INFORMAL ALLIANCE WITH NIGER'S MARKEDLY WESTERN-ORIENTED INTELLECTUAL ELITE, TO LOSE ITS PRESENT MONOPOLY ON THE LEVERS OF POWER.

6. OUR ASSISTANCE TO NIGER DURING AND AFTER THE DROUGHT IS STILL DEEPLY APPRECIATED. IN ADDITION, OUR PIVOTAL ROLE AS CATALYST IN PUTTING TOGETHER A REGIONAL/INTERNATIONAL APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT IN THE SAHEL (BASED ON THE CLUB DES AMIS AND CILSS) IS BECOMING CLEARER TO THE GOVERNMENT AND A WIDER SPECTRUM OF NIGERIENS. THE SAHEL PROGRAM, IN THE MINDS OF GOVERNMENT LEADERS, IS INCREASINGLY SEEN AS THE MAJOR WAY OF GETTING AT THEIR

DEVELOPMENT GOALS. THIS PERCEPTION CREATES IN TURN AN ATMOSPHERE THAT IS FAVORABLE TO U.S. POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN GENERAL.

7. THUS WE CAN DISCERN NO ATTITUDES OR HOSTILITIES ON THE NIGERIEN SIDE WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE OUR CONTINUING TO MOUNT USEFUL ASSISTANCE PROJECTS IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS--OUR PRIMARY MISSION IN NIGER.

8. MAINGAINING A PROPITIOUS ATMOSPHERE, NEVERTHELESS, WILL REQUIRE MORE VIGILANT ATTENTION ON OUR PART TO OUR OWN PROCEDURES AND THE STYLE AND FLEXIBILITY OF OUR OPERATIONS, AS WE PREPARE TO MOUNT THE MAMMOTH ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS NOW ON THE DRAWING BOARDS FOR NIGER AND THE SAHEL.

9. WE ARE, IN EFFECT, ENTERING A CRITICAL TIME INSOFAR AS OUR ACTUAL PERFORMANCE IN DELIVERING ASSISTANCE IS CONCERNED. UP
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TO NOW, THE BULK OF THE ASSISTANCE IN TERMS OF ACTUAL TRANSFER OF RESOURCES HAS BEEN PL-480. HOPEFULLY THIS KIND OF EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE WILL NOT BE NECESSARY--OR WILL AT LEAST BE MINIMAL IN FY 78 AND 79. THUS IT BECOMES PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO SHOW TANGIBLE RESULTS ON LONGER TERM PROJECTS WHICH HAVE ALREADY RESULTED IN A MAJOR AID BUILD-UP HERE. RAPID IMPLEMENTATION AND A CONTINUING SENSE OF URGENCY ON THE NIGER CEREALS PROJECT, THE NIGER RANGE AND LIVESTOCK PROJECT, THE NIGER HEALTH PROJECT, AND THE NIAMEY PRODUCTIVITY PROJECT, AMONG OTHERS, WILL BE IN ORDER. MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, THE QUALITY OF OUR RELATIONS WITH NIGER FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS WILL BE DETERMINED BY OUR EFFECTIVENESS IN DELIVERING WHAT WE HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT IN THESE AND SIMILAR PROGRAMS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SAHEL DEVELOPMENT EFFORT.

10. THE GON WILL CONTINUE TO WELCOME--AND PERHAPS TO EXPECT--MORE INVOLVEMENT ON THE PART OF U.S. COMPANINS IN NIGER. THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS A BASIC INGREDIENT IN NIGER'S THREE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN. NIGER WILL CONTINUE TO BE ALERT TO ITS OWN INTERESTS AND TOUGH IN BARGAINING WITH COMPANIES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR. IT MAY SEEK TO CAPITALIZE ON ITS APPARENT SUCCESS IN GETTING PRIVATE FINANCING FOR THE URANIUM ROAD BY LINKING FOREIGN INVESTMENTS MORE CLOSELY TO INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS. IF SO, ANY NASCENT ENTHUSIASM ON THE PART OF U.S. INVESTORS ABOUT NIGER MAY DIMINISH. FOR THEIR PART, HOWEVER, COMPANIES CAN CONTINUE TO EXPECT THAT THE BARGAINS THEY DO STRIKE WITH THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE RESPECTED.

11. THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP IS REALISTIC ABOUT THE KEY MULTI-LATERAL QUESTIONS THAT CONCERN US. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION THAT NIGER EXPECTS TO BE CALLED ON TO SUPPORT

THE POLICIES AND POSITIONS OF MAJOR DONORS WHEN ISSUES OF CONCERN
ARISE IN MULTI-LATERAL FORA. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT WE WILL BE
GUARANTEED NIGER'S AUTOMATIC SUPPORT. FREQUENTLY NIGER MAY SIDE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NIAMEY 1648

AGAINST US ON VOTES IN THE UN AND ELSEWHERE, ESPECIALLY
ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, WHERE PRESSURES TOWARD SOLIDARITY
WITH THE ARAB STATES ARE STRONG. NEVERTHELESS, THE GON
DISLIKES CONFRONTATIONAL APPROACHES IN INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS AND ACCEPTS THE LOGIC OF OBJECTIONS FROM
DONOR COUNTRIES LIKE FRANCE, WEST GERMANY AND OURSELVES
ABOUT BEING SINGLED OUT ADVERSELY. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN
GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL ON SUCH SPECIFIC ITEMS AS KOREA,
PUEROT RICO, AND GUAM. IT WILL BE HELPFUL IF WE CAN
HAVE CLOSER COORDINATION WITH OUR ALLIES ON OUR APPROACHES
TO THE GON WHERE ITS VOTE IS CONSIDERED IMPORTANT. IN ANY
CASE, NIGER EXPECTS AND IS MORE THAN OPEN TO REALISTIC
DIALOGUE WITH THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES ON ISSUES
ARISING IN THE U, THE CIEC, ETC.

12. NIGER IS AT PRESENT A MEMBER OF THE NON-ALIGNED
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (NACC) AND ASPIRES TO GO ON THE
SECURITY COUNCIL IN 1979.

13. U.S. POLICIES IN AFRICA AS A WHOLE AS WELL AS OUR
POSITION ON GLOBAL ECONOMIC ISSUES AND IN THE NORTH-SOUTH
DIALOGUE WILL NATURALLY HAVE SOME BEARING ON THE ATTITUDES
OF NIGER AND ITS LEADERS TOWARD THE U.S., AFFECTING IN TURN
THE TONE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, WHILE
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SYMPATHETIC AND PUBLICLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE RANGE OF ECONOMIC ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION IN NORTH-SOUTH FORA, NIGER WILL NOT BE IN THE VANGUARD OF COUNTRIES PRESSURING THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES FOR CHANGE. IT WILL CONTINUE TO CALL FOR GENEROUS ARRANGEMENTS INSULATING PRIMARY COMMODITY PRODUCERS FROM MARKET FLUCTUATIONS AND DETERIORATING TERMS OF TRADE. THE PRESENT BOOM IN URANIUM, HOWEVER, AND THE INCREASINGLY LARGE REVENUES NOW BEING DERIVED FROM THE URANIUM SECTOR WILL PROVIDE A SUBSTANTIAL CUSHION FOR NIGER'S BUDGET WHILE MORE THAN MAKING UP FOR WEAK PERFORMANCE IN THE AGRICULTURAL EXPORT SECTOR. ALSO, NIGER DOES NOT HAVE MAJOR PROBLEMS WITH FOREIGN DEBT; INDEED, IT IS AMONG THE LEAST INDEBTED NATIONS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THUS, TO SOME EXTENT, THE THIRD WORLD'S FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS (ALTHOUGH NOT ITS AID DEMANDS) CAN BE SEEN AS SECONDARY OR DERIVATIVE ISSUES FOR NIGER.

14. THERE IS A GENERAL APPREHENSION, WHICH WILL PROBABLY DEEPEN, WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND WITH MUSHROOMING SECURITY PROBLEMS AND TERRITORIAL DISPUTES ELSEWHERE ON THE CONTINENT. AFRICA'S SHARPLY INCREASING TENDENCY TOWARD FACTIONALISM RAISES A SPECTRE OF GENERALIZED INSTABILITY AND OF INCREASING SOVIET INTERVENTION OF GREAT CONCERN TO A POOR AND WEAK COUNTRY SUCH AS NIGER WHICH HAS ALWAYS BANKED HEAVILY ON ORGANISMS LIKE THE OAU AND ON TRADITIONAL AFRICAN DIPLOMACY TO SOLVE REGIONAL PROBLEMS AND PROVIDE BARRIERS TO OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. STILL, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE U.S. WILL BE ASKED FOR ANY DIRECT MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THESE CONCERNS. WHAT KOUNTCHE AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE LOOKING FOR, IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, IS A RESOLUTE U.S. POSTURE TOWARD THE SOVIETS, BOTH IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE, MORE INTENSE PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA TO FORCE CHANGE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND STRONG REAFFIRMATIONS OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

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15. MANY OF THE ABOVE CONCERNS ON THE PART OF NIGER'S LEADERSHIP ARE PSYCHOLOGICAL. THUS THEY CAN BE ASSUAGED TO A CERTAIN EXTENT BY MORE OR LESS TRADITIONAL DIPLOMATIC MEANS--I.E., THE PROVISION TO A FRIENDLY GOVERNMENT OF MEANINGFUL INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENTS OF CONCERN TO IT, PROVIDING INSIGHTS INTO U.S. POLICY AS IT EVOLVES, INCREASED CONTACTS WITH SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS, ANSA GENERALLY ENHANCED PROCESS OF DISCUSSIONS AND CONSULTATION--ALWAYS ASSUMING THAT OUR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS CONTINUE TO PROVIDE VISIBLE EVIDENCE OF U.S. INTEREST AND SUPPORT.

OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION AND ISSUES

16 OUR EFFORTS IN NIGER ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, FOCUSED AS THEY ARE ON BILATERAL AND MULTI-LATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WHICH ARE IN BASIC ACCORD WITH THE STRONG CONGRESSIONAL CONCERN WITH QUOTE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE UNQUOTE AND WITH THE GON'S OWN DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES. OUR GENERAL OBJECTIVES SHOUM REMAIN MUCH THE SAME AS THEY HAVE BEEN FOR THE PAST FEW YEARS:

- TO INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION IN NIGER;
 - 2-TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF RURAL LIFE THROUGH REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, LIVESTOCK AND HEALTH PROGRAMS;
 - TO STRENGTHEN NIGER'S HUMAN RESOURCES BY ASSOCIATING TRAINING COMPONENTS WITH THE ABOVE PROGRAMS, BY PARTICIPANT AND EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, AND BY PROMOTING THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH;
 - TO CONTINUE WORKING WITH OTHER WESTERN DONORS AND THE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS OF THE SAHEL TOWARD AN EFFECTIVE REGIONAL APPORACH TO DEVELOPMENT;
 - TO MAINTAIN ACCESS FOR U.S. INVESTORS TO NIGER'S POTENTIAL MINERAL RESOURCES;
 - TO BOLSTER OUR ENTREE WITH THE LEADERSHIP WITH A VIEW, INTER ALIA, OF SECURING THE GON'S SUPPORT ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF CONCERN TO US.
- THE FOREGOING SERVE AS THE BASIC GOALS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AID, USIS, AND PEACE CORPS IN NIGER.

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17. ALTHOUGH WE FORSEE NO MAJOR PROBLEMS IN WORKING TOWARD THESE GOALS, THERE ARE SPECIFIC AREAS WHICH WILL REQUIRE SPECIAL ATTENTION BY THE DEPARTMENT AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MISSION:

- MORE STREAMLINED BUREAUCRATIC PROCEDURES WITHIN AID THAT WILL ELIMINATE WHAT OFTEN APPEARS TO BE WCESSIVE PROJECT STUDY AND ALLOW MORE RAPID IMPLEMENTATION;
- SUSTAINED ATTENTIONTO THE CALIBRE OF PERSONNEL SENT TO WORK IN NIGER, IN PARTICULAR THEIR LANGUAGE ABILITY AND SENSITIVITY TO LOCAL ENVIRONMENT;
- KEEPING ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT CENTRALIZED IN ORDER TO PROMOTE EFFICIENCY AND PRESERVE THE CONCEPT OF A UNIFIED MISSION. THIS REQUIRES A PROMPT RESOLUTION OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATE AND AID ON THE FEASIBILITY OF JOINT ADMINISTRATIVE OPERATIONS (NIAMEY 1001). AID PREFERS SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUPPORTING THE SAHEL ASSISTANCE BUILDUP WHICH STATE, I BELIEVE CORRECTLY, WISHES TO AVOID;
- THE EARLY ARRIVAL OF A PEACE CORPS DIRECTOR TO FILL A CRUCIAL POSITION WHICH HAS LAIN DORMANT FOR ONE YEAR;
- DEVELOPING MORE PERSONALIZED AND IN-DEPTH DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GON ON U.S. POLICY IN AFRICA WHICH WILL UNDERLINE

OUR CONFIDENCE IN NIGER'S LEADERSHIP AND PARALLEL THE
SIGNIFICANT INPUT OF U.S. GOVERNMENT RESOURCES THAT WILL BE
FORTHCOMING IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS.JAMES

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